

## Message Text

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ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
ICA-11 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /075 W  
-----099492 041154Z /11  
R 040851Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7924

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 1556

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, ET, ASEC  
SUBJECT: PEASANTS' ASSOCIATIONS AS SECURITY APPARATUSES

REF: STATE 079421

SUMMARY AND COMMENT: PEASANTS' ASSOCIATIONS THROUGHOUT ETHIOPIA ARE NOT REPEAT NOT GENERALLY USED TO CONDUCT SEARCH CAMPAIGNS NOR DO THEY FUNCTION ACTIVELY AS EXTENSIONS OF STATE SECURITY UNITS. THERE ARE OCCASIONS WHEN LOCAL OFFICIALS EITHER RESPONSIBLE FOR REGIONAL SECURITY OR POLITICIZATION OF MASSES WILL UTILIZE PEASANTS' ASSOCIATIONS IN QUASI-SECURITY ROLE, BUT TO DATE ETHIOPIAN GOVT (PMGSE) HAS FOUND MORE EFFECTIVE MEANS TO MAINTAIN SECURITY IN RURAL AREAS. "RED TERROR" CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO COUNTRYSIDE FROM ADDIS ABABA, BUT IT GENERALLY HAS BEEN CONFINED TO REGIONAL CAPITALS AND MAJOR TOWNS. (RED TERROR IS PMGSE EXPRESSION FOR CAMPAIGN OF SUMMARY EXECUTIONS, DETENTIONS, EXPOSURES AND "PEOPLES' JUSTICE" INITIATED TO COUNTER "WHITE TERROR" OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT ELEMENTS.) RED TERROR POLICY OUTSIDE OF ADDIS APPEARS TO BE MORE REACTIVE, ESPECIALLY IN TRADITIONALLY ANTI-GOVERNMENT AREAS, RATHER THAN CAREFULLY INSTITUTED PROGRAM. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

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1. REFTTEL CORRECTLY QUOTED FROM FEB 2 BROADCAST WHICH ANNOUNCED LIQUIDATION OF 13 COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES AND ADMISSION BY 625 STUDENTS THAT THEY WERE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (EPRP) MEMBERS AND/OR SYMPATHIZERS, BOTH EVENTS WITHIN SHOA REGION, OF WHICH ADDIS ABABA IS CAPITAL. (N.B. EPRP, ALTHOUGH INDEOLO-

GICALLY COMPATIBLE WITH PROFESSED MARXIST-LENINIST PHILOSOPHY OF PMGSE, IS COMMITTED TO VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF RULING MILITARY COUNCIL (PMAC OR DIRG), AND TO REPLACE IT WITH RADICAL CIVILIAN ONE.) DIRG HAS CONDUCTED AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN OF RED TERROR, PRIMARILY AGAINST EPRP, SINCE NOVEMBER 1977, WHICH APPEARS TO BE CONTINUING. CAMPAIGN FOCUSED INITIALLY ON ADDIS ABABA RESIDENTS, BUT GRADUALLY HAS SPREAD TO REGIONAL CAPITALS. DIRG HAS PREFERRED TO USE URBAN DWELLERS' ASSOCIATION (KEBELE) DEFENSE SQUADS TO SUPPLEMENT STATE SECURITY UNITS FOR CONDUCTING RED TERROR IN REGIONAL CAPITALS.

2. DIRG HAS EMPLOYED PEASANT ASSOCIATIONS TO RECRUIT MILITIA FOR MILITARY SERVICE AT WAR FRONTS, TO MARKET AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, TO PROVIDE MANPOWER FOR LOCAL DEFENSE SQUADS AND AS MASS ORGANIZATION VEHICLE TO POLITICIZE POPULACE. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT INDIVIDUAL PEASANT ASSOCIATION MEMBERS HAVE PARTICIPATED IN SEARCH CAMPAIGNS CONDUCTED BY "MEN-IN-UNIFORM," I.E. POLICE, MILITIA AND REGULAR MILITARY, BUT IT IS RARE WHEN WHOLE ASSOCIATIONS HAVE FUNCTIONED IN SECURITY ROLE.

3. IT IS SPECIFIC ROLE OF PROVISIONAL OFFICE FOR MASS ORGANIZATIONAL AFFAIRS (POMOA OR POLITBURO), NOT OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PEASANT ASSOCIATIONS, TO "IMPOSE ADHERENCE TO PMGSE IDEOLOGICAL DOCTRINES." POMOA REPRESENTATIVES IN FIELD HAVE EXPERIENCED DEGREE OF INTERNAL STRUGGLE PARALLEL TO THAT WHICH IS TAKING PLACE AMONG CIVILIAN MARXIST-LENINIST GROUPS. AS RESULT, POLITICIZATION IN RURAL AREAS HAS BEEN VERY UNEVEN AND IN SOME CASES ANTI-DIRGIST. IN AREAS WHERE POMOA REP IS FORCEFUL

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ICA-11 OMB-01 AID-05 TRSE-00 /075 W

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R 040851Z APR 78

FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7925

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 1556

AND VERY POWERFUL VIS-A-VIS LOCAL GOVT STRUCTURE, HE CAN, IN FACT, ACT AS SECURITY COMMISSAR. RECENT EX-AMPLES ARE IN WOLLO AND KAFFA REGIONS. POMOA CADRES GENERALLY HAVE BEEN VERY ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN RED TERROR CAMPAIGN, ESPECIALLY AGAINST THEIR PEERS AND POTENTIAL RIVALS. POMOA AHS EMPLOYED PEASANT ASSO-CIATIONS, AS ONLY MASS ORGANIZATION IN COUNTRYSIDE, TO PROPAGATE PMGSE IDEOLOGY, HOWEVER, WITH POOR RE-SULTS THUS FAR.

4. SCALE OF KILLINGS, ARRESTS AND PUBLIC EXPOSURES SINCE JANUARY 1 AS REPORTED IN GOVT-OWNED AND CON-TROLLED PRESS, AND AS RELATED TO RED TERROR CAMPAIGN IN COUNTRYSIDE ALONE ARE: KILLINGS 426, ARRESTS AND EX-POSURES 3,505 PERSONS, MANY OF WHOM ARE NO LONGER UNDER DETENTION. EMBASSY SUSPECTS THESE FIGURES SOMEWHAT UNDERSTATED, BECAUSE THEY DO NOT INCLUDE ANY REPORTS FROM ERITREA, TIGRE, WOLLEGA OR GAMO GOFA REGIONS, WHERE VARIOUS DEGREES OF DISSIDENT ACTIVITY CONTINUE AND UNOFFICIAL REPORTS INDICATE SOME ACTIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN AGAINST DISSIDENTS BY PMGSE. WHILE "RED TERROR" HAS APPEARANCE OF BEING IDEOLOGICALLY MOTIVATED, IN REALITY IT HAS BEEN SECURITY TOOL TO ELIMINATE OR DETAIN ACTIVELY VIOLENT OR MERELY VOCAL OPPONENTS OF REGIME. IN THIS CONTEXT, PEASANT ASSOCIATIONS MAY BE CONFIDENTIAL

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USED FOR SECURITY PURPOSES, BUT NOT REPEAT NOT FOR IMPOSITION OF IDEOLOGICAL DOCTRINES.  
MATHERON

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## Message Attributes

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